

Peace News

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New steps planned in H-bomb campaign

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AS public sentiment in Britain grew this week against the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the organisations leading the movement against their manufacture and testing were preparing for a steady campaign during the coming months.

Peggy Duff, Secretary of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests, told Peace News on Tuesday that it was expected that tickets for the large Central Hall, Westminster, London, meeting at 7.30 p.m. Monday, February 17, would be available next Monday.

Speakers will include Bertrand Russell, J. B. Priestley, A. J. P. Taylor, Michael Foot and Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. Tickets can be obtained by post from The Secretary, National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests, 146, Fleet Street, E.C.4, at 6d. each providing a self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed.

BROADER OBJECTIVES

Peace News understands that the National Council is seriously considering broadening its objectives to include more than opposition to nuclear tests. The Council was to meet to-day to discuss this, and a meeting with the council's sponsors on the subject is scheduled soon.

It is hoped that steps will be taken to bring together the efforts of various bodies opposed to the present arms race.

The National Council asks that enquiries about the proposed four-day march from London to the atomic weapons plant at Aldermaston should be addressed to the Council's office.

The Council is asking that every supporter obtain ten others.

Supporters are asked to write letters to Prime Minister Macmillan, Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd, Hugh Gaitskill, MP, leader of the Labour Party, and Aneurin Bevan, MP, Labour Shadow Foreign Minister, expressing their opposition to rocket bases in Britain, the distribution of missiles elsewhere in Europe, nuclear weapons, and stressing the importance of disarmament.

It is also suggested that people write to their MPs informing them that unless they oppose such war preparations, they will not vote for them in the next election.

LABOUR GROUP'S PLANS

Also the Labour Party H-bomb Campaign Committee this week was laying plans for intensifying the anti-H-bomb campaign.

Mr. Hugh Jenkins, the Committee's Chairman, told Peace News on Tuesday: "We are meeting on Friday and we shall be then considering a number of questions

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GERMAN FUSION MOVE

THE Executive Committees of Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner (the German branch of the War Resisters' International) and Gruppe der Wehrdienstverweiger (Group of Conscientious Objectors), together representing 30,000 members, have decided to fuse, reports Hans-Konrad Tempel from Hamburg.

BEHIND THE PROWESS OF HILLARY AND FUCHS

Militarism on the prowl

AN EDITORIAL

WHENEVER men engage in great feats in a struggle with nature requiring outstanding courage and skill, such as the scaling of an unconquered mountain peak or the crossing of the great polar wastes, our hearts go out to accompany them.

Their daring is, we feel, an embellishment for the race of men and arouses in us a feeling of pride in the possibilities inherent in the human adventure.

Behind the deeds of such men, however, there will always be found militarist ghoulies on the watch: what strategic advantage can be drawn from their heroic endeavour? How can we use their courage to give us some deadly advantage in the power struggle?

The expedition undertaken by Dr. Vivian Fuchs and Sir Edmund Hillary has been launched as part of the programme of the International Geophysical Year. The Chairman of the Committee of management of the expedition, however, is Sir John Slessor, RAF Marshal, and the Secretary is Rear-Admiral C. R. L. Parry.

COLOUR BAR IN SPORT

South African policy calls for action

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

IN the crowded grounds where Australia and South Africa are now playing their cricket test matches, a solid block of African and Indian spectators occupy distant and inferior seats. They cheer the Australians, as last year they cheered the English team, and sometimes jeer the South Africans.

I find this deeply significant. I have little nationalist feeling, yet when I attend cricket test matches at Lords or Rugby international games at Twickenham, I become instinctively partisan. I doubt whether there is any country in the world other than South Africa where a section of the home population wants a visiting team to win. This is indeed a revelation of the racial antagonism which the white practice of apartheid (segregation, discrimination and humiliation) has brought to South Africa.

Not only cricket

The separation does not apply only to the spectators. It applies also to the players. The cricket teams which are supposed to represent South Africa exclude anyone who is suspected of harbouring a drop of "coloured" blood in his veins. The white South African teams will not play, in South Africa, any team which includes a "coloured" man.

K. S. Duleepsinhji and the Nawab of Pataudi have played for England, but they could not be admitted in an English cricket team visiting South Africa. India and the West Indies have cricket teams of international status, but they are not received in South Africa.

The colour bar does not apply only to cricket. It is imposed for:

Rugby football—New Zealand has to exclude outstanding Maori players from its team.

Association football—Steve Mokore, an African from the Union, plays League football in England, but he is excluded from white teams in South Africa.

Tennis—David Samaai, the coloured South African, has played at Wimbledon, but he may not play against whites in Johannesburg.

Boxing—Jake Tuli, an African from Johannesburg, won the Empire Flyweight championship in 1953, but by law he may not box with a white in South Africa.

Athletics—no "coloured" athlete is included in the South African team for the Olympic Games.

Table Tennis, and all other spheres of sport.

The African, Indian and Coloured people of South Africa have met this exclusion by establishing their own sporting organisations.

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A COMIC booklet that tells of a non-violent campaign by the Negroes of an American city to end segregation on their buses is something not to be missed by any who work for freedom and brotherhood.

As reported in Peace News on January 3, "The Montgomery Story" is to be serialised in 15 picture instalments beginning in next week's issue.

Here is a new and popular way of getting over the idea of non-violence to younger folk and to all who are against race discrimination.

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Complete the coupon on back page and send by return.

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At a recent ceremony in the new Guildford Cathedral an altar cross and a pair of candlesticks in memory of Canon "Dick" Sheppard who had lived in the neighbourhood were received.

It is quite evident that the concern of these in the expedition is not limited to a disinterested regard for pure science or the prowess of man in the conquest of nature.

In the article that follows Fred Moorhouse gives a history of Antarctic exploration and an account of the manoeuvring for strategic position that accompanies it.

The Antarctic continent is as big as the United States and Europe put together. It has no human inhabitants. It has islands that could be used as submarine bases and, as our contributor points out there could be possibilities of using the area for H-bomb experiments.

The Antarctic provides an ideal first field for an experiment in internationalisation under UN control. There are no political systems to be interfered with, and no difficult questions of self-determination arise because there are no people.

One of the problems that the statesmen are struggling with today is the possibility of agreeing upon areas of "disengagement". They should at least reach the decision that the Antarctic shall not become a further engaged area to provide new reasons for conflict.

ANTARCTICA

By Fred S. Moorhouse

THE exploits at the South Pole associated with the International Geophysical Year are exciting the imaginations of men and women throughout the world. Wherever men pit themselves against the difficulties of nature their fellows will have a healthy concern for their fortunes.

But those who see behind the scientific exploits to the possible role of the Antarctic in world affairs will recognise that there can also be an unhealthy interest in what happens there.

One of the major problems of the future will be concerned with this icy Southern Continent which has an area equal to that of Europe and the USA combined. Will the exploitation of Antarctica be for the benefit of mankind, or the cause of international friction and unrest?

It is nearly 200 years since the continent was discovered. Captain Cook discovered the island of South Georgia during his voyage of 1772-75, and his reports led to a rush of sealers to the area.

By 1791 over a hundred ships were hunting seals. In 1819 one of the sealers, Captain Smith, discovered Grahamland on the Southern Continent itself.

Explorers

During the nineteenth century a procession of explorers followed in Smith's tracks. Sir James Clark Ross, Scott (1901-4) and Shackleton (1907-9) went into what is now the Ross Dependency. In 1830 Biscoe landed in Enderbyland, and a Frenchman, D'Urville, discovered Adélie Land in 1840.

In our century other parts of the continent have been viewed from the air; of particular note are the flights made by General Ruser-Larsen of Norway in 1930, and those from the Norwegian whaling factory ship, the *Thorshavn*, in 1936-7.

These many explorations have shown that the Antarctic is not just a barren ice-sheet. The seas around it are rich whaling fields, and British ships have been whaling there since 1904.

Norway was not far behind in exploiting the fields, whilst the Japanese entered them in the 1930s. Since 1945 the USSR and Holland have also sent whalers.

In the areas of the continent claimed by

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A pacifist visits Dachau Part 2

INSIDE THE CREMATORIUM

By Bradford Lyttle

This is the second of four instalments of Bradford Lyttle's moving account of his visit last year to the concentration camp and crematorium at Dachau, in search of an answer to the question posed by non-pacifists: "What about the Jews in Nazi Germany?"

Last week Bradford Lyttle described his journey to the town of Dachau and to the site of the crematorium, which is now in an American army camp. The crematorium has been preserved and is open to visitors.

THERE IS NO INDICATION on the main signboard inside the front gate of the American Army camp at Dachau that there is an old concentration camp site and crematorium there.

"Officers' Lounge," "Bowling Alley," "First Quartermaster's Warehouse," "Carpentry Shop"; there are many directions for other parts of the camp.

I took the fork to the left, alongside of which a brook ran. The brook, a notice warned, was reserved for the German counterpart of the Isaac Walton Society—the Dachau fishing club.

After walking perhaps 100 metres I encountered more signs. "Shooting Gallery," "Bowling Alley," "Theatre," and at the bottom, "Crematorium."

The crematorium is at the far end of the camp, a kilometre and a half or more from the entrance, and it was a long hot hike to reach it.

After turning a corner to a muddy road that cut across the back of the camp, I found a wall on my right, some distance on the other side of which a squat, brick chimney could be seen projecting, and to my left a deserted, barbed wire compound surrounded by wooden guard towers.

Two thirds of the way down the wall I found a door over which was the sign "Crematorium," a wooden sentry shelter, and an elderly German guard, who looked at me with a quizzical expression.

"May I leave my rucksack here?" I asked him in German. "I want to visit the crematorium."

"Ya wohl." He answered and put the sack inside the door of his sentry box.

Once through the door I found myself on the inside of a walled enclosure or compound of about one acre area. I was standing in a gravel parking place which was lined by a low chain fence and occupied by a Pontiac and a Volkswagen.

Two paths led out of the place, one towards the square buildings that were in the centre of the enclosure, the other to the side and a grove of trees. A sign indicated that the path towards the trees was the entrance.

All signs and descriptions at the Dachau crematorium are of one or two words and all are printed in four languages: German, English, Russian and French.

At the entrance a notice informs you that there is no guide.*

The visitor first passes by a number of square depressions in the turf that are described as mass graves. The path then turns to the left and he comes upon a trench parallel to the path and about two metres in length.

At the bottom of the trench there is a wooden rack that is rotting to pieces and along one edge a parapet of earth, 20 or 30 centimetres high. The aggregate is described as an execution place equipped with a blood trench.

Near to it, to the left, is a large, earth-work structure consisting of two walls, perhaps a metre and a half high and three metres long, which form a cross. This is described as a pistol range.

The path then leads past more large depressions in the ground, mass graves, and one or two smaller depressions called ash pits.

On the mass graves and ash pits there are plaques which commemorate the thousands of unknown victims who are buried there.

*Parts of the following description may not be accurate in detail, for it is some months since I visited Dachau and I took no notes or photographs while there.

I then followed the path into the central area of the compound where the gallows and incinerators are located.

BEFORE describing these parts of the crematorium I would like to present an interpretation of the development of the genocide factory at Dachau that occurred to me while I was there.

It might help another visitor to understand why the buildings and other structures are arranged as they are.

I suspect that originally the executions at the camp may have been limited to political prisoners who had been "tried" and condemned in the German courts.

It is likely, then, that as the Nazi purges enveloped ever greater numbers of people the facilities for mass execution by firing squad were first set up, then the pistol range as a means by which Gestapo officers might be hardened to their work, and, simultaneously, the condemned might be killed.

As the numbers of prisoners continued to grow, however, several problems must have become more and more urgent to the camp authorities: how to reduce the population in the camp compound, how to hasten the genocide of undesirable racial groups and how to dispose of the bodies, would all have been troubling details.

There are two buildings with ovens. One, slightly off to the side by itself, does not have the associated shower baths and gas chamber of the other. Its presence suggests that cremation was first used simply as a means to dispose of bodies.

The other building, a factory, is the material realisation of a fully developed theory of mass extermination of human beings.

I doubt then that all the structures within the enclosure of the Dachau crematorium were conceived as a unit. Rather, their arrangement strongly suggests the gradual development of procedures and instruments in response both to the needs and experiences of the concentration camp authorities.

THE SMALLER OF THE TWO crematoria is a brick building perhaps four metres square that contains an oven. The oven is built of fire-brick, reinforced by a structure of angle and cast iron.

It is designed to accommodate two bodies.

At the side of the oven there are doors for introducing coal or coke, whatever the burning agent was, and removing the ashes of this agent.

Draft for the fire is provided by a short, sheet iron chimney shaped like an inverted, truncated cone. The chimney is supported by guy wires.

The body of the victim was introduced into the oven by means of a long, sheet steel stretcher that is provided at one end with handles. There are sets of rollers mounted before the oven doors to make it easier to introduce the bodies and remove their ashes.

A wooden partition across one corner of the building suggests that the enclosed area may have been used for fuel storage. Long iron pokers lean against the wall.

Wreaths have been hung on the oven, and, I believe, there is a plaque suspended above its doors.

The deteriorated state of the fire brick inside the oven suggests that the crematorium was used frequently.

Between the smaller crematorium and the much larger factory there is a concrete slab

flush with the ground described as a gallows stand.

The factory is in several parts, all housed in a rectangular, brick building perhaps 25 metres long, five deep and three high. Properly, the factory should be visited from the end where the processing of victims began.

At the far left, separated from the other rooms by a corridor that runs the width of the building, are a battery of four or six small, steel-lined rooms.

These have heavy steel doors that contain a groove where a rubber gasket might be fitted and a simple handle which locks the door snugly against a steel faceplate. These chambers are described as disinfecting rooms, perhaps used for the clothing of the victims.

Across the hall I entered first the undressing room, a square, concrete chamber, without windows, equipped with lights set in recesses in the walls and floor drains.

A steel door leads directly into the shower room that is similar except that there are holes in the ceiling where once shower spigots may have been mounted, and, of course, the drains are larger. The shower room, in turn, opens immediately into the gas or death chamber.

Smaller drains, steel doors that could be equipped with rubber seals, and ventilators in the end walls of the room that could be opened to clear out the gas are the special installations of the death chamber.

After the death chamber there is a room containing a battery of three ovens that are identical in design to that in the smaller crematorium. These have a total capacity of six bodies.

The draft for all of the ovens is provided by a single, central chimney that extends five metres above the roof of the building. There are a number of memorial plaques mounted on the walls of the furnace room and wreaths and artificial flowers hang on and about the ovens.

Beyond the furnace room one or two empty rooms may be found, then the end of the building and a depression in the ground outside called an ash pit.

From disinfecting chambers and undressing room to the ash pit the factory is completely equipped for the systematic killing of human beings and the disposal of their bodies.

A VISITOR WHO ENTERS the undressing room first may be struck by the thousands upon thousands of printed names and signatures that cover its walls and ceilings.

These may be found in the shower room also.

They were written by men and women from perhaps every major country in the world and dozens of languages, races and religions are represented. It seemed to me as if everyone who had visited the crematorium over the past 12 years had written his name there as a witness, and the feeling swept me that I was expected to do the same.

Here are the names of three privates in the Russian Army who visited in 1945, and four Jewish Americans who wrote "Dachau, now on to Buchenwald and Relsen."

An American lady scribbled "God bless America!" but there are few comments like these, only the thousands of names with, perhaps, the date and country, printed, written and scrawled in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Serbo-Croat, Hungarian, Russian, Chinese and innumerable other tongues.

Most striking to me, however, was the near absence of these silent witnesses in

the gas chamber. Above one door is written, "God forgive them for they know not what they do," but, in addition, there cannot be ten names on the walls of this chamber.

As I stood in the middle of the room and looked about me the macabre thought came into my mind that perhaps more people had died in that room than any other place on earth.

I realised that for tens of thousands of people whose relatives went to Dachau and never returned there is no temple or cathedral or shrine that is more holy than this drab cubicle of concrete and tile.

A STATUE HAS BEEN ERECTED near the crematorium buildings by the relatives of those who died at Dachau.

It is the statue of a prisoner; emaciated, head shaven, clad in a tattered overcoat and wooden shoes, he stares with hollow eyes towards the door in the wall where visitors enter.

In wandering about the enclosure I found a squat wooden hut near one path that is described as a repository for ashes. The compound is kept in excellent order by a ground-keeper.

The trees are pruned, the flowers watered and grass cut. I discovered one exception to this careful gardening and that was near a locked, iron gate that once was used as an automobile entrance to the enclosure.

Here a black, stone monument that had been erected shortly after the crematorium was captured by the American Army, has been overgrown and obscured by a weeping willow tree. I cannot recall the exact words that were engraved upon the stone, but the symbolism of the tree that had been allowed to grow so as to obscure them was, perhaps, the most powerful memory of my visit to the camp.

The sense of these words was: After you leave, think of why these things have occurred.

There were that day five or six other visitors to the crematorium besides myself. The most conspicuous were an American family that had arrived with all their tourist equipment and the new, green Buick that had preceded me at the entrance of the camp.

The children did not seem to understand the crematorium. They looked bewildered.

But the father was armed with a camera and a singularly smug expression, and went from site to site, photographing profusely.

THE GERMAN GUARD gave me back my knapsack and suggested a shorter way to leave the camp area in order to reach the highway.

I began to hitch-hike immediately and was amused to have the green Buick roar past me leaving only a cloud of choking dust.

When I reached the residential area of the camp and was walking down the main road towards the gate, a car did stop. It was an American Army officer and his wife. From the officer's expression and his German wife's friendliness I could guess that he was not accustomed to pick up hitch-hikers; that "das Frau" had asked him to.

In broken German I talked for a few minutes with this good woman, explaining that I wished to reach the town of Dachau, then the highway. Our conversation was pleasant until she asked me what I was doing at the army camp.

At this point her husband, who had been driving and smoking in morose silence, took the pipe out of his mouth and said deliberately, "He came to see the crematorium."

His wife contracted as if shocked with electricity, turned away from me, and for five minutes or more busied herself silently with a lipstick while we drove on into the town.

Continued next week.

City Council's alarm at missile bases

LAST week Hull City Council had on its agenda a motion opposing the construction of atomic missile launching bases in Britain.

The motion, which has the backing of the Labour Group of the Council, reads:

That, in view of the suffering endured by the Citizens of this City through enemy action during the last War, this Council views with alarm the report that launching bases for atomic weapons are to be constructed in Britain.

They welcome the possibility that talks at the highest level may be instituted to discuss general disarmament and trust that every effort will be made by Her Majesty's Government of Great Britain to further international discussion with a view to ending the possibility of armed conflict.

Nuclear weapon bases

They order that the Town Clerk convey this resolution to the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition with the fervent hope that all possible steps will be taken to ensure that the New Year will usher in an era of lessened tension and see the foundation laid for a lasting peace.

"It is indicative of the widespread concern over the proposal to construct launching bases for nuclear weapons in the United Kingdom," Councillor A. F. Clarke told Peace News recently.

"Members of the Labour Group here in Hull would like to see similar resolutions discussed by other local authorities as it is felt that this opportunity should be afforded for its discussion by responsible citizens."

At a glance

"Problems of Development Among New Nations" is the subject of a week-end course to be held at Wansfell Residential College for Adults, Theydon Bois, Epping, Essex, from February 21 to February 23. The course, which is sponsored by the Essex Education Committee in co-operation with the National Peace Council, is designed to follow on the BBC series of six talks on Network Three on Wednesdays, Jan. 1 to Feb. 5 at 7.15 p.m. on "Problems of New Nations." Applications for the week-end course should be made to the Warden at Wansfell.

"The pen is mightier than the sword" is the slogan of The Organised Correspondence Group which believes that by writing several letters simultaneously to a public figure pacifist opinion may have some influence on that person's views, and upon the affairs of the nation and the world. Those interested should contact the Secretary, Edward Bray, 20 Westfield Ave., Oakes, Huddersfield.

Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam will be discussed in a weekly series of four Friday lunch-hour addresses at 12.30 p.m. and 1.30 p.m., commencing on January 24. The talks are arranged in co-operation with the National Peace Council and will be held in the Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Three pacifists were included in a list of 12 people "who put life in 1957," drawn up by News Chronicle columnist Sarah Jenkins. They were Dr. Soper, Edward Rasey (young CO whose tribunal statement was published last June), and Harold Steele, who attempted to get to Christmas Island to make a one-man stand against the H-bomb tests.

The Labour Peace Fellowship is to hold a London conference in February. Other conferences and meetings in various parts of the country are being arranged. Further information can be obtained from General Secretary, 9r, Newmarket Ave., Northolt Park, Middx.

An appeal to Finchley Borough Council to abandon Civil Defence, which is "advance preparation for war," has been made by the Society of Friends (Quakers).

The danger of the H-bomber patrols A QUAKER WARNING

A WARNING against "feeling any confidence in the Prime Minister's assurance of the 'safety' of the H-bombs now circling above us appeared in the Friend, the Quaker journal, last month. Hugh Heckstall-Smith, author of "The Bases of Atomic Physics," put forward the following points:

1. The executive American general on the spot boasted, a short time ago of the H-bomb power at his disposal. His words seemed irresponsible:

2. Most Service personnel get "lit up" at times. Think of a "lit up" American airman carrying an H-bomb with, as we have been told, the apparatus for fusing it on board;

3. All scientific measurements of the same quantity are spread over a range. There is no such thing as an exact measurement. If the million-to-one fluctuation means one death, as in an operation, this is reasonable. If the million-to-one fluctuation means an event leading perhaps to millions of deaths, the extinction of nations, or even the extinction of the race, then to take this risk is indefensible. Unhappily, people still think of "science" as "exact."

The "accidents"

4. The very serious "accident" at the Canadian Chalk River Atomic Plant on Dec. 12, 1952, was due to a mistake in calculation, which anyone can make blamelessly. The director said: "We took a calculated risk and our calculations just were not good enough."

5. The Eniwetok H-bomb of March 1, 1954, covered the Japanese fishing boat, "Lucky Dragon," 90 miles away, with radio-active ash. A man died. This effect at this distance came as a complete surprise to the physicists. There had been a major miscalculation.

Their letter to Ike

To The President of the United States. THE New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee sends you herewith additional petition sheets bearing the signatures of 17,477 individuals who urge that nuclear bomb testing be stopped. Only July 17 we sent you 10,034 such signatures; thus we have sent you a total of 27,511.

The use of weapons of mass annihilation, by this country or any country, is morally unjustifiable. In Paris on December 16 you stated that "This is the time for greatness." It is, indeed. But greatness does not lie in stockpiling ever more weapons, when already, as you said on November 7, "One B-52 can carry as much destructive capacity as was delivered by all the bombers in all the years of World War II combined." The greatness that we need is moral leadership. We can't have moral leadership and weapons of mass annihilation too; they are mutually exclusive.

The Government's position in assuming that testing nuclear bombs "to keep our weapons posture strong" can prevent war is illogical. This "weapons posture" kind of thinking is completely out of date in the nuclear age. It is a very dangerous way of thinking. The tensions it creates could hair-trigger us into war at any moment. A moral, and a realistic, frame of reference is needed.

We do not agree with the Government's position that to end the testing without banning weapons production would increase the threat of aggression and war. On the contrary, as our petition states: "The stopping of nuclear tests would go a long way toward halting the spread of the nuclear arms race to other nations. It would stop the increasing danger from radio-active fallout. It would be a dramatic moral act which would ease tensions and create the political climate for positive steps to peace."

The thousands of signers of this petition—and, we are confident, most Americans—want genuine negotiation, not a smoke screen for a continued arms race. Today a policy of peaceful co-operation with all nations on this planet is the only policy by which mankind has any chance for survival.—RUSSELL JOHNSON, Peace Education Secretary.

6. The "accident" at Windscale on Oct. 7 to 12 this year has been fairly fully reported. The report says the physicist in charge had no handbook, inadequate written directives, and one wrongly placed thermometer in the sense that it told temperatures in normal working conditions but missed abnormal conditions. Another thermometer gave a right reading in normal conditions and a wrong reading in abnormal conditions. Those concerned were sincere and competent. The authorities who made these arrangements are brilliant and well-intentioned men. If questions had been asked in Parliament about Windscale before Oct. 7, the answer would certainly have been reassuring. Reassuring Parliamentary answers can be in good faith, but wrong.

Deportation of ANC President

THE Vice-President of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, Mr. J. R. D. Chikerema, recently said in Salisbury, that the deportation on Dec. 2 of Mr. Gilbert Kumtumanki, President of the Salisbury branch of the Nyasaland African National Congress, appeared to be unwarranted by any evidence except that he held the position of President of the Congress branch, reported The South African Press Association.

"It would appear that it is now the accepted policy of the Southern Rhodesian Government to purge and eliminate the leaders of the Nyasaland Congress in Southern Rhodesia in order that the mother body in Nyasaland will not have strong support from its members in this colony."

"In this action, I personally see the ghost of the Federal Government determined to destroy opposition to Federation from the Congress, which is determined to attain self-government for Nyasaland," said Mr. Chikerema.

But this deportation, he added, would go to strengthen the opposition of the Northern Africans to Federation.

It was clear that Africans were not accepted as full citizens of every part of the Federation.

The Act under which Mr. Kumtumanki was being deported "was one of the many Southern Rhodesian Acts which made African leaders and the African community generally live in constant fear of deportation and politically inspired arrests."

Tribune upsets whites

From Basil Delaine

Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

AN article in Tribune calling for the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, quoted at length in Rhodesia newspapers, upset white politicians and became a public talking point.

In a statement to Argus Company newspapers, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Transport and Works, Mr. Rex L'Ange, said the report showed what the Federation was up against in the United Kingdom.

"Such muddled thinking allied with stubborn refusal to face facts on the part of some members of the British Labour Party, can only have serious repercussions within this part of Africa."

"This is a warning we cannot afford to ignore," he said.

Worthy refuses oath

WILLIAM WORTHY, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, who defied the US State Department's ban to travel to Communist China, has refused to take an oath not to go there again without the State Department's permission. Meanwhile, the Department declines to renew his passport unless he takes the oath. William Worthy's own story of his visit to China a year ago appeared in Peace News, Nov. 22, 1957.

NEARER THE TARGET



A FINE response to the appeal made by Leslie Hale, MP, special Christmas efforts by our readers, a number of anonymous donations, these have all helped to bring us nearer to our target for the Peace News Fund.

Our books are being kept open until Jan. 31. We have until then to raise £734

Only just over a month ago we were still needing £1,781. Now, over £1,000 has been knocked off that figure.

We want to bend all our energies in 1958 to stopping British preparations for H-bomb warfare. We want to push the problems of financing Peace News out of the way. Can you help us to do just that?

You know the old saying: "Hats off to the past. Coats off to the future."

That's how we feel about things as we enter 1958.

THE EDITOR

Contributions received since Dec. 27, 1957: £432 19s. 5d.

Total since Jan. 1, 1957: £2,766 1s. 4d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully received from: JAT, Bristol, 5s.; Anon, Worksop, 10s.; Anon, Aylesbury, 5s.; Weymouth, £10; Anon, £1; "With best wishes for 1958", 10s.; Anon, £2; "Auld Grannie", £5. Also £19 0s. 6d. from sale of Christmas Cards and gifts by Miss Osborne.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.A.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



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Solemn renunciation

PROPOSALS for pacts of non-aggression or the outlawry of war are a useful standby for statesmen who want to say something that suggests a degree of conciliatory initiative and hope, but who are not really prepared to commit themselves to anything of significance.

Mr. Macmillan's broadcast proposal for a "solemn pact of non-aggression" followed a similar proposal from President Tito in a New Year Message. The President urged that there should be a "summit" meeting representative not only of the Great Powers but of the heads of all States both great and small. He urged that such a conference should reach a decision for the formal rejection of war. This would facilitate efforts to find a way out of the present deadlock.

There could be no harm in such a declaration as an endeavour to recapture the sense of the realisation that in no circumstances must there be war that was clearly borne in upon the leaders of the Great Powers at the Geneva summit meeting, but whereas Mr. Macmillan in making his proposal seemed to be very conscious that this kind of thing had been done before without any noticeable effect on future events the Yugoslav President gave no evidence of any such realisation.

Tito must, however, have been aware that war has already been formally outlawed by 59 States, including all the Great Powers through the Paris (or Kellogg) Pact of 1928. This did not prevent World War II, and a similar pact for the "renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy" would equally not stand in the way of a third world war.

Governments have no difficulty in persuading themselves that they have already renounced war. NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and all the war preparations by which these military instruments are backed are equally preparations to deal with an "aggressor"; and dealing with an aggressor is of course not making war. It can, however, equally contribute its part to the destruction of the human race.

Disarmament?

ONE of the changes which the New Year brings is the setting up of the new Disarmament Commission. The previous one worked mainly through a Committee consisting of representatives of the USA, USSR, Britain, France and Canada. Russia decided that no progress was likely from a committee which was so unbalanced and proposed that all the member States of UN should send a representative to an enlarged Disarmament Committee.

That proposal was rejected, as also was their scheme that the new Commission should consist of an equal number of Western delegates and of delegates from Communist countries and the uncommitted nations. The furthest the Western powers would go was to approve of enlarging the Commission to 25 members but of those only three, Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, belong to the Soviet bloc.

The reason for the Soviet proposal, as for their rejection of the new Commission, is natural and obvious. The Soviet Union is tired of trying to carry on negotiations in a closed circle where the Eastern point of view is always outvoted by a Western majority. Their rule for the future is balanced negotiations—Russia and America, NATO and Warsaw Pact Powers, or a balanced committee.

The real stumbling block throughout has been the insistence by each side on plans for a reduction of armaments which would have put the other side at a disadvantage. That attitude is still doomed to failure.

The recent suggestion from America that the USSR should show its good faith by accepting the latest Western proposals even though they would put Russia at a disadvantage does not indicate the change of attitude which is a necessary prelude to successful negotiations.

The only hope that 1958 may witness a success denied to its predecessors is that each side should give up the attempt to force through proposals which they know



to be to the disadvantage of the other and seek agreement on the basis of their mutual interests.

That will not be possible so long as Britain and America persist in the erroneous belief that Russia is only waiting for the opportunity to launch an attack on the West. If that were true the Soviet Union has had many opportunities since 1945 and again has a golden chance, since the latest report on American security admits that until the U.S.A. has its intercontinental

ballistic missiles in 1961 its safety depends on "the benevolence" of Russia!

Negotiation from strength is a fallacy. Negotiation from balanced armament is as futile. Negotiation from the basis of the common hopes, needs and fears of the peoples of America, Britain and Russia could succeed if each side is prepared to substitute for their mutual fears a readiness to trust one another and take risks for peace, thinking not in terms of eliminating some weapons but of abandoning all armaments.

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FROM BANDUNG TO CAIRO

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE, held in April, 1955, was convened by the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia.

The Conference consisted of representatives of governments. Its decisions largely influenced the attitude of the governments attending the Conference in subsequent meetings of the UN Assembly.

The only provision for a possible future meeting was an authorisation to the five "Columbo" Prime Ministers to call one if they so decided after consultation with the other governments represented at Bandung. No such conference has been arranged, and it seems improbable that one will now be held.

Instead, as we noted last week, a conference has met in Cairo of representatives of Africa and Asia. Some of the delegates represented governments, but a great many of them were simply representative of political groups in their countries or even ad hoc "solidarity committees." Among these, some, doubtless, were practically self-appointed.

ONE RESULT of this different arrangement was that the wishes of the suppressed majorities of such lands as Algeria, Kenya, Uganda and South Africa could be expressed.

However, there were vast differences in standing among the delegations, some being government representatives, others attending to show opposition to their governments.

The 29 States represented at Bandung included 14 neutrals, 13 linked with the Western bloc, and two Communist countries. Chou En-lai, representing China, pursued a skilful and conciliatory course throughout the Conference, and this did much to counterbalance the undue Western bloc representation. The Conference could be regarded as expressing in the main the views of the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa.

Of the 45 delegations at the Cairo Conference, 13 were from neutral States. As many as 27 were from countries attached to the Western bloc—although many of these, with attitudes in opposition to their governments, would be likely to represent neutral opinion. From the Eastern bloc, China and North Vietnam, represented at Bandung, were joined by the USSR, North Korea and Mongolia.

THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED were mainly propositions that would be endorsed by both uncommitted governments and the Communist group.

However, the resolutions condemning various aspects of imperialism could only have been generally accepted as appearing to apply to what the European Powers and the US have done in Africa and Asia because the delegates did not concern themselves with what more the terms imperialism and colonialism precisely mean.

There were some indications at the Conference, however, that it will not be possible for the principles involved here to be dealt with in this way very much longer.

The one decision that might be interpreted as implying a criticism of Russia was a resolution initiated by Japan condemning H-bomb tests. While the Conference was actually in progress Russia carried out another test in Siberia. Thus by implication it comes under the condemnation of the Cairo Conference. In the final draft of the call to governments to cease the tests it is noted that the Russian Government has declared its conditional readiness to cease the tests as from the present month so long as the US and British Governments do the same.

BUT THE ACTUAL APPEAL by the Conference is that the tests shall be stopped immediately and "unconditionally."

The Cairo Conference, unlike that at Bandung, has made provision for a permanent secretariat, with headquarters at Cairo. It seems unlikely, therefore, that another Conference on the Bandung basis will be called.

WE SHOULD LIKE TO SEE THE CONVENING OF A CONFERENCE FOR THE EXPRESSION OF NEUTRAL OPINION, FOR WHICH GOVERNMENTS LINKED WITH EITHER OF THE POWER BLOCS WOULD BE INELIGIBLE.

Such a conference could have a great influence in the world, and it is quite possible that some of its pronouncements could have greater moral authority than those made in the UN Assembly, for in such a case the influence of cold war alignments on the decisions reached would be largely eliminated.

M. Gaillard's policy

M. FELIX GAILLARD, the French Prime Minister, has just accorded an interview to a representative of the American journal US News and World Report in which he sets out very fully his view on the present international situation. It is a valuable document, for it displays very fully, if not always very frankly, what is in the mind of the leading statesman of one of the Western "Big Three."

In the main M. Gaillard covers familiar ground in similar terms to those that might be used by Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Dulles. There is, however, a pretty plain hint that the installation of US intermediate range missiles in France will depend not only on a substantial loan from the US but also upon the US Government viewing the French operations in North Africa with much more complacency than hitherto.

When he is dealing with the Middle East, however, Mr. Gaillard goes a good deal further than Mr. Dulles even would be likely to venture to-day. M. Gaillard wants a joint declaration from the US, French and British Governments that they will not permit any modification of the status quo in the Middle East.

The only modification of the status quo that it likely to develop is through internal subversion. If the Western Powers do not take account of what may happen through subversion, says M. Gaillard, they leave the field open to "the adversary." The Western Powers should therefore declare that they will act in the case of internal subversion.

M. Gaillard holds the view that such a declaration would prevent any eventuality arising that would require its implementation. To a further question from his interviewer asking whether he would still be in favour of such action if it should nevertheless not prevent subversion, M. Gaillard merely repeated that his opinion was that a declaration that the Western Powers would act as he had indicated would prevent such an occasion from developing.

Consolidating tyranny

HERE is a new and startling development of the "deterrent" idea. We not only are to depend on avoiding a world war because both sides are equipped with the "deterrent" that must not be used. We are also to seek to keep a great and troublesome area of the earth in the political posture that suits Western military requirements by means of the deterrent of our threat on the assumption that it will never have to be implemented. This deterrent is not that of the H-bomb itself but that of a war by conventional arms which may nevertheless be effective, because if the challenge should be taken up it would be likely to lead to nuclear warfare.

When the final war is consummated it will be through some such idea as this that it will come about. It is not probable that one side will take the risk of setting out to use H-bombs at the inception of a quarrel in order to obtain an hour or two's advance in the activities of general destruction.

What will happen will be that some government will seek, in accordance with the suggestion made by M. Gaillard, to make its will effective by a "dare." It will use the wholesale character of the threat of destruction in a nuclear war as a means of blackmailing other Powers into submitting to its views on the assumption that they may display a higher sense of human responsibility than it is manifesting itself.

France and Britain have already behind them a failed tentative of this kind in their Suez aggression. M. Gaillard would elevate this attitude to a governing principle of Western policy.

M. Gaillard has a reputation for political brilliance, but he is a young man, and it is to be hoped that this attitude of lunatic irresponsibility may be attributed to his youth, and that he will have been subjected since that interview to some wiser counsel from his colleagues. For of all the areas of the world in which changes in the status quo are desirable, and in which "subversion" will be called for to bring about such changes, because of the shortcomings or absence of democratic procedures, the Middle East is outstanding.

It may be hoped, for instance, that the slavery that exists under the regime of King Saud may be brought to an end at a smaller cost than a nuclear war.

Letters to the Editor

The greatest power

THE Prime Minister's broadcast lacked the inspiration so essential if we are to change our standpoint and thus break the vicious circle of fear! He asked for confidence yet he himself did not seem at all sure.

He said if such and such were the case, then we must continue to rely on the H-bomb as a deterrent.

But are we to accept the thesis that there is no reality in aught but the material? An increasing number are convinced that peace can never rest on material force.

Moral might is the greatest power in the world and Her Majesty indicated this when she referred to "Pilgrim's Progress".

It is fear that the nations need to be delivered from and only the power of God is equal to the task.—FRANCIS J. WHITE, Little Dene, St. Mawes, Truro, Cornwall.

Driving licence and C.D.

WHEN I renewed my driving licence this year the motor taxation department of the London County Council had the impudence to enclose with my new driving licence a business reply card urging me to join in Civil Defence.

I returned the card with these words:

REGISTRATION DAY FOR COs

THE next registration day, for those born between Jan. 1 and March 31, 1939, will be Saturday, Jan. 18, 1958.

The present infrequency of registration, coupled with the expectation of the ending of conscription in 1960, has had the effect of reducing the public's awareness of the continuance of National Service, and also of the provisions and rights affecting those still liable.

It is, therefore, all the more important that wide publicity be given to the right of any of these boys who conscientiously object to being conscripted for military training to have his name placed on the Provisional Register of Conscientious Objectors. Those boys who have already registered on the Military Service Register but have had deferment may transfer their names to the Provisional Register of COs by personal application at their Local Office of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, if possible taking with them the certificate of registration with which they were originally issued.

Applying for registration as a CO does not affect the right to deferment.

Every CO can refer to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, for advice and help.

Attention: readers of the airmail edition

DUE to flying conditions, breakdowns and unavoidable delays, the airmail editions of the Dec. 5 and Dec. 13 of Peace News destined for American and Canadian readers were held up four to five days before they could be processed in our Philadelphia distribution offices.

Delays of this sort are unavoidable from time to time when using the facilities of trans-Atlantic commercial air freight, especially during the winter months.

Our sincere apologies. At any rate, we did our best—processing the bulk shipment out to subscribers as soon as the issue cleared the customs in Philadelphia.—BILL BASNIGHT, Peace News U.S. Sales Office, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

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written across it: "I protest against your sending out these notices with driving licences, and so trying to deceive people into believing there is any defence against nuclear warfare, when the consensus of scientific opinion is that there is none."

Might I suggest that other drivers, when they receive this form, do the same?—(Mrs.) E. FITZGERALD, 23, Godfrey St., London, S.W.3.

Tribunal was bothered

MR. CHAPPA is a member of the Peace Pledge Union. He signed the Pledge in May, 1957; whatever his reasons for doing so, and however confused were his answers at his recent Tribunal reported in Peace News (Dec. 27), by Mavis James, they deserve serious consideration from all PPU members.

Rather than mock at the young man's confusion when he was questioned by an experienced Tribunal, it should be remembered that not all pacifists were born pacifists and that some tolerance should be exercised at the turning point and some help offered at the cross roads.

Pacifists who are convinced that those who support the abolition of nuclear tests are also ready to renounce war unconditionally must be prepared for shocks from their new converts whose basis of pacifism is probably one of expediency rather than of conscience.

Mr. Chappa may have signed the Pledge before considering its full implication, but this only emphasises the importance of group work and study, and that pacifists

should meet together "just for the sake of meeting."

There is no PPU group in N.W.1 where Mr. Chappa lives; new groups are needed in many parts of the London area and these cannot be formed quickly enough. I would like to ask all members who live in a suburb where no group exists, but who work in central London, to write to me in order to co-operate in reviving the Central London Group. Meetings would be held monthly and especially designed for members prepared to meet centrally before returning to their homes.—MYRTLE SOLOMON, London Area Organiser, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

Tax refusal

ISN'T it time a nation-wide refusal to pay taxes got under way?

The prisons full of people protesting in this way against blatant wickedness would be the best thing that could happen.

It might even cure inflation.—R. M. CLARKE, Brixham.

Peace Pledge Union

IT would appear from Stuart Morris's reply to my letter that I have been misinformed in regard to membership figures for the Peace Pledge Union. My information is just a few months outdated but originally came by way of the Secretary's and Treasurer's Conference, 1956. It was there I remember having a heated discussion in relation to the problem of "where are the young members to be found?" What is the present membership, how many of these subscribe, and what was the

THE COLOUR BAR IN SPORT

FROM PAGE ONE

tions. Their Soccer Federation has 49,000 playing members, twice as many as the white organisation. The "coloured" bodies are by constitution inter-racial and have invited whites to join. So far, alas, without any response.

Sportsmen and athletes in other countries cannot leave this issue to be settled in South Africa. It is one of the fine things of Sport that it does not recognise differences of race or colour. The Charter of the Olympic Games Association lays it down that "no discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of colour, religion or politics." It is not only a matter of healthy rivalry of physical prowess, in which any exclusion is regarded as unsportsmanlike, "not cricket". At their best, sport and athletics develop a spirit of international camaraderie, though this is sometimes marred by partisanship.

There are two ways in which those of us outside South Africa can help.

The first would be for visiting sportsmen and athletes to decline to take engagements in South Africa so long as segregation is maintained. If individuals and organisations did this, they would cause white South Africans to think again.

We have an example in the actions of musicians and actors and their organisations:

Johnny Dankworth, the jazz musician, turned down a £10,000 contract to take his band to South Africa because they could not play to mixed audiences.

British Equity, our actors and actresses' trade union, and the Musicians Union, have instructed their members to decline engagements in South Africa unless they can play to African, Indian and coloured audiences.

Sir Laurence Olivier recently withdrew his patronage of the so-called International Arts League of Youth in South Africa because it excludes non-whites from membership.

Visiting British teams

Why, for example, should our English cricket and Rugby teams tolerate the practice of the colour bar on their visits to South Africa? English cricket has for decades been enriched by Indian and West Indian players, the latter including many Africans. Ranjitsinhji and Constantine were the heroes of our boys at the County grounds. Our working-class clubs in the Lancashire and Yorkshire League compete for "coloured" coaches. Yet in South

Africa our English teams play without public protest with teams from which non-whites are excluded and on grounds where the "coloured" are segregated.

Our famous British Lions' Rugby team actually played the Junior Springboks at the new stadium at Bloemfontein last year, although Africans, Indians and Coloured are refused the right to enter it at all.

I suggest that our British sport organisations should inform the South African authorities that they will refuse to send teams and athletes to South Africa unless the colour bar is lifted. This should not be left for the decision of the high-up committees and directors.

Members of sporting and athletic clubs, members of Supporters' Clubs, should raise this issue continually within their clubs until something is done about it.

The second way in which influence can be exerted on South Africa is through the international sporting and athletic organisations. Cricket, soccer, rugby, tennis, boxing, table tennis and athletics all have international authorities.

The associations in South Africa to which the non-whites belong (and which are open to whites also) have applied for international recognition. Only the International Table Tennis Federation has agreed.

Inter-racial membership

I pause to salute table tennis. I watch its competitions on television with special pleasure, competitions in which Indians, Africans and Japanese take part with great skill and happy friendliness. Before last year the International Federation registered the White Table Tennis Union as its South African member. When, at its Tokyo meeting in April, 1956, it learned that the Union excluded non-whites and that the South African Table Tennis Board was open to all races, it expelled the Union and welcomed the Board. White table tennis players in South Africa who now wish to compete internationally must forget their colour prejudice.

When, during the last two years, I have written on behalf of the Movement for Colonial Freedom to international sporting and athletic associations, urging that they should require inter-racial membership in their South African affiliated sections, the reply has invariably accepted inter-racialism in principle but excused inaction on the ground that the matter must be settled in South Africa itself.

original response to Dick Sheppard's letter?

One must naturally agree that the official policy of the Union is to gain fresh adherents to the Pledge. Concerning the second point, however, I believe that the only way to convince the public as a whole is to lead them on by stages. Isn't this proved by the very pattern set by those whom we oppose? "A journey of a thousand miles begins with one step" still holds true. Surely we should be a step nearer peace on this earth without nuclear weapons than with them.

Stuart Morris gives the answer I expected which serves only to emphasise the point I have been trying to make.

Like Sybil Morrison I deplore the fact that Aneurin Bevan has agreed to the retention of the H-bomb but at least he has stated that he does not agree to them being carried in aircraft. For this he deserves our thanks and we should say so.

Surely I did not give the impression that Aneurin Bevan should be a pledged member of the PPU!—LYONEL EVANS, 38 Westbourne Rd., Olton, Solihull.

Lysistrata's example

I WISH all women of this country would follow Aristophanes' Lysistrata's example (review Peace News, Dec. 27) and thus automatically end all wars. I hope all members of the Cabinet could be invited to see this play at the Royal Court Theatre.

We need a Lysistrata in this country now, and then Lysistrata Clubs would spring up all over the country. Wake up, women!—JAMES THOMAS WILLIAMS, Mus. Bac, Wales.

I find this excuse unacceptable because the great majority of people in South Africa are now refused the opportunity to participate in international competitions and games.

A special duty rests upon the Olympic Games Association whose Charter, as I have said, declares against discrimination on the grounds of colour. It will have to face this issue immediately because the non-white South African Body Building and Weight Lifting Federation intends to apply for admission to the Olympic Games at Rome in 1960. Weight lifting is in fact the only sport in which a non-white has ever been selected to represent South Africa at an international contest, but this was before colour prejudice was as deep as it is today.

Cancerous growth

Meanwhile, however, we are intimately concerned in Britain. Next July the Empire and Commonwealth Games are to be held at Cardiff. A South African team, numbering 86, is expected, but all coloured persons will be excluded. When I wrote to the Committee suggesting it should indicate to the South African authorities that it would be a happy contribution to the co-operation of all peoples in the Commonwealth, the majority of whom are coloured, if the South African were chosen on merit and were not necessarily exclusively white, Mr. C. E. Newham, the Director of the Organisation, replied that the Games are essentially a happy family in which competitors and officials live together without thought of colour, race or creed, but that the authority for issuing invitations rested with the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation.

I am now writing to the Federation, and I suggest that others, not only in Britain but in the rest of the Commonwealth, should write. The secretary of the Federation is Mr. K. S. Duncan, MBE, 95 Mount Street, London, W.1.

The colour bar in South Africa is sometimes regarded as a political injustice. It invades every sphere of life. When the invasion extends to international organisations, it is our duty to stop its cancerous growth.

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FOOTNOTE: Detailed facts will be found in "Sport, the Arts and the Colour Bar in South Africa" (Africa Bureau, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., 65 Denison House, London, S.W.1. 2s. 6d.)

RALPH PARKER, OUR MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT, WRITES ON An article and its consequences

THE wave of dismay mingled with indignation that swept over intellectual circles following the publication of an article by Anatoly Sofronov in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* found expression in so many letters of protest that Sofronov felt obliged to retract some of his most abusive remarks about writers who have fallen foul of the Party's spokesman on literary matters.

This important and partly successful expression of public feeling is a barometer of the intellectual climate in the USSR following latest turns in the uneasy course in cultural matters taken during the past year or two. It shows, among other things, that there exists an articulate body of opinion that is not afraid to express its disapproval of tendencies that seem to indicate a return to some of the most objectionable features of the recent past. Besides, Sofronov's article itself shows to what lengths the conservative elements in the cultural world here are prepared to go in their interpretation of the Party line on literature and the arts.

The facts are as follows: In December the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, organ of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, published in three successive numbers a 20,000 word article by Sofronov, editor-in-chief of the ultra-conservative magazine *Ogonyok*, himself a popular middle-brow poet, publicist and playwright of working-class origin.

The article, entitled "Nightmare and Reality," was a violent attack on the representatives of various groups of poets, critics and prose-writers which tended to form in the Soviet Union in the "period

of vacuum" between the 20th Party Congress and the emphatic reassertion of the principle of Party guidance in literature and the arts which took place as a direct consequence of the Hungarian events and Poland's October.

EMPLOYING a polemical tone that had not been heard for at least five years—the tone of the "critic executioner"—Sofronov took swinging blows at what is known as the "critical trend" exemplified in such plays as Volodin's "Factory Girl," now playing to capacity audiences at the Soviet Army Theatre in Moscow and at many provincial theatres; at a group of critics associated with the magazine Theatre, whose members had raised their voices against the "zealous proponents of trimmed truth"; at poets like Kirsanov, Boris Slutsky and Aliger, authors of verse strongly marked by an anti-heroic attitude; at—it goes without saying—Dudintsev and Yashin; and, less overtly, at Konstantin Simonov.

He deplored alleged attempts to show that only the 'thirties and 'forties had seen any substantial successes in the field of drama and theatrical production, summed up by the "Meyerhold cult."

Now, there is nothing new in this. Sofronov's list coincided exactly with that which has appeared from time to time over the past six months, since, in fact, N. S. Khrushchov's series of interventions in the cultural field. The new feature in Sofronov's article—and it was this that caused so grave a concern in broad intellectual circles—was the terminology he employed in dealing with the people he disapproved of. Here are some examples:

Of "Factory Girl": "... in a rather subtle way the play casts aspersions at our system;"

Of Dudintsev, Kirsanov, Yashin and some others: "they were concocting lampoons... their ears stuffed with cotton-wool and a sceptical glint in their eyes; they, in quest of the so-called 'freedom of creative endeavour,' did all they could to smear our Soviet society, our Soviet times, the times of socialism;"

Of Boris Slutsky: "... a shame for a Soviet poet!"

And, lumping all these writers together, Sofronov finds in the inner content of their work a "lack of all respect for our homeland, for our achievements and victories." He writes of "chucking out" such "nightmares" from Soviet literature and concludes with the following paragraph:

"Casting a proud retrospective glance at the glorious path in the 40 years of our country, we must raise high the splendid poetic slogan of Vladimir Mayakovsky: 'He who sings today not with us, sings against us.'"

It was that paragraph which touched off the storm of protest. Both Party and non-Party intellectuals—and not only intellectuals—recognised in it a clear echo of the articles that used to appear in Soviet literary journals during the later years of Stalin's life, a period—it is pertinent to recall—during which Sofronov himself rose to the eminent position he now holds in the literary world.

The classification of all writers and critics who dared to question the perfection of Soviet society as "anti-patriotic" is qualitatively no different from Sofronov's accusation that any who have the impertinence to adopt a critical attitude to "our profusely rich and varied life" do not deserve the name of Soviet.

IT is a healthy sign that public opinion reacted so promptly, healthy too that Sofronov felt the weight of public disapproval so strongly that he felt obliged to terminate the final instalment of his article with a lame apology for the sharpness of his tone. That retraction spoke volumes.

Let it not be thought that those who found Sofronov's tone objectionable held any particular brief for the writers he attacked. There is, I think, pretty general agreement that some of those writers gave too free a rein to the feelings of acute depression that followed the revelations of the 20th Congress.

Few of them have been popular. But public opinion has expressed its abhorrence for intolerance, for the methods of the "critic executioner," for the indiscriminate flinging about of personal insult and bitter recriminatory charges.

And by expressing this abhorrence public opinion has in fact revealed its strength as a champion of decency, tolerance and justice.

Mavis James, who regularly attends the London Tribunal, writes on

THE NEW PACIFISTS

CONSCIENTIOUS Objectors are rapidly turning the London Tribunal from an evil into a good. It has been interesting to watch the change-over during the past few months.

Perhaps it began with the notices in the Peace News Diary and the information that the public were admitted. Since then there has been a steady stream of young men who are thinking of taking a CO stand, or who have made their applications for registration as COs, sitting in the gallery seats, observing and listening to the cases.

These, together with the applicants themselves, have sometimes met in Fulham Town Hall's mosaic-paved corridors and begun to get to know each other. It has been an event long overdue, this mixing together of the assorted ingredients of pacifism, and it will be very interesting to see the results.

Tribunals succeeding?

Are the Tribunals succeeding where the various pacifist organisations are failing? I think it is very possible that they are. Within the organisations there's a tendency to be highbrow and to follow a well-beaten track of thought and activities. The new blood of pacifism is not exclusively drawn from the intelligensia. It is drawn from a diversity of professions, as you can see

from this list compiled from the last three sessions: builders' labourers, gardeners, an inspector in a factory, a railway-carriage cleaner, architects, doctors, accounts clerks.

Nor is the new blood solely English. At the same three sessions, there were Jamaicans, a Trinidadian, a turbaned Sikh and a South African. The flavour at these Tribunals is strictly international, and there's tangible reality of the brotherhood of man.

I used to hear a lot of what certain famous pacifists have said and done in the past, but there's more than a tendency among the new pacifists to evolve their own pacifism, and it isn't just pacifism. This new feeling is best described as "a way of living," trite as it may sound. Pacifism is but a part of it.

Work that interests them

This is where the Tribunals seem to be sowing the seeds for some real and very active good, if the conversations of the applicants among themselves is anything to go by. They aren't very interested in pacifist organisations, say the new pacifists, because mainly it is a case of the converted talking to the converted. They aren't keen, either, because they want experience not lectures, because they wish to experiment with living and not be regimented, even in a nice way, by set ideas.

They are interested in the fellow who works with the Friends Ambulance Unit, or

Startling statistics

Winifred Barrett, Director of the American Friends Service Committee's High School division peace education work in New England, has issued the following figures about US arms expenditure:

WHETHER you are 6 or 60, your average per capita tax burden for the fiscal year of 1958 is \$426.00.

Congress this year voted \$59,100,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1958.

Seventy-five cents of each tax dollar is assigned to national defence, military security, and past wars. This makes a total amount of \$44,325,000,000 for wars past, present and future.

HOW MUCH IS A BILLION DOLLARS?

If your car could possibly go a million miles, its wheels would not turn over a billion times.

A billion new dollar bills, standing on end and close to each other, would reach over 65 miles in length.

You may think that a billion minutes would be only a few months back. Well, it would take you back to 43 A.D.

Interest on a billion dollars at 2½ per cent. would be over \$2,000,000 per month—nearly \$70,000 a day.

Now multiply the above statistics by 44 (the number of billions to be used by the USA for wars—past, present and future) and you stumble on to other startling statistics.

Here are much easier problems, if you prefer:

If one of us should throw one dollar into a fire every second, it would take us 42,738 years to burn the cost—to the nations—of only the Second World War.

The cost of one heavy bomber equals More than 30 schools; or, Two electric power plants; or, Two hospitals; or, Fifty miles of concrete pavement.

The cost of one fighter plane equals half a million bushels of wheat.

The cost of one destroyer equals homes for 8,000 people.

The last three items are taken from President Eisenhower's speech in April, 1953. I'll guess the cost is much more now.

In that same speech President Eisenhower said: "This world in arms is spending... the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children."

the chap who has been helping with the International Voluntary Service, or the man who devotes his spare time to work with the Bermondsey Settlement, or is a mental nurse, or is keen to join the Family Service Units. "What's that?" you can hear them asking each other. "It sounds just the sort of thing I'd like to do."

Many of the COs at the Tribunals hear for the first time in their lives that they aren't a little round-the-bend, cranky, or contrary! This recent tendency to discuss their cases with each other after the hearings has brought quite a lot of comfort to these young men.

Re-assessment

From this survey of recent developments two facts emerge. One, that the existing facilities for giving employment to the young CO could do with an expanding We need more outlet for all the tremendous—and it really is tremendous—enthusiasm of the young COs, and, two, that somehow, in some way, the existing pacifist organisations need a re-assessment of the present situation.

It would be very wrong indeed if all young pacifists huddled together within organisations and specific employment and lost touch with the world at large, but there is a happy medium, and older pacifists might do well to consider what that medium ought to be.

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DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to make publication notices sent in. We nevertheless make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m. 12. Include: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, room, nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, January 10
LONDON LOCAL TRIBUNAL FOR COs: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m.; Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Underground Station). Public.

Saturday, January 11
LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., West Area AGM. PPU.

Sunday, January 12
LONDON: 3 p.m.; Town Hall. "Stop All H-bomb Tests!" Speakers: David Ennals (Nat. Sec.), Dr. Alex Comfort (Nuffield Research Institute), Gordon Schaffer (Author and Editor, *Wembley North*) Author Spencer (Sec., *Shop Stewards' Com.*), Chairman: Laurie (Sec., *Ilford Central Lab. Party*). Organised by *Ilford Peace Movement*. Adm. free.
LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Hunter Street (behind Walker Art Gallery). Public Meeting. "The Threat of Nuclear Warfare." Principal speaker: Frank Allaun, MP, Rev. S. R. Butler, *L.A. Questions* welcomed.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.20 Tavistock Square, Euston. 10 p.m. Pacific Universalist Service. "Discourse by Mr. Morrison: 'I have no doots.'"
WIMBORLEY, Cheshire: 8 p.m.; Methodist Schoolroom, Stockport Road. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.

Monday, January 13
BAYLY GROVE: 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Church. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.
LONDON, N.W.3: 7.45 p.m.; Basement of 12 Hill Park (off Frognall). Speaker: Arlo (Sec., *War Resistance Today*). Hampstead Christian Group.
SOUTHAMPTON: 7.15 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Ordnance Rd. AGM and Any Questions.

Tuesday, January 14
HAMPSHIRE: 8 p.m.; Hampstead Town Hall. "The Shadow of Hiroshima" followed by *Ilford Peace Movement*. Chairman: Arthur Goss. Panel: David Pimburgh (Cons.), Mr. H. Tibber (Lib.), Pitt (Labour), Mr. Maynard Smith (Lib.) and Dr. Jack Boag (Physicist). Admission: 50p. Free for *Hampstead Group* for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests.
WINCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Platt Lane Methodist Church, Fallowfield. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.

Wednesday, January 15
LONDON: 8 p.m.; Church Parlour, Independent Church, Knights Lane. Speaker: E. C. Redmond. "Challenge to Pacifists." All welcome. Refreshments. Edmonton PPU Group.
HORNCHURCH: 8 p.m.; Holy Cross Church (Denny Lane). Public showing "Assignment (Danny Kaye)" and "Walk to Freedom." Hornchurch Way to Peace Group, 52 Fleet Street, Upminster.
WIMBORLEY: 7.45 p.m.; St. Edmund's Parish Hall. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.

Thursday, January 16
LONDON: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., 100 Road. Speaker: Norman Frith. "Styles in PPU. E.10 and E.11 Group."
WIMBORLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Civic Hall, Leeming Road. "Which Way to Peace?" Public meeting by Dr. Donald O. Soper, MA. Mansfield Group.
ALBANY: 7.45 p.m.; Hudson Street Methodist Church, Hollinwood. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.

Friday, January 17
LONDON: 7.45 p.m.; Bedford Methodist Schoolroom. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.
LONDON: 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church, 100 Road, N.13. Discussion. "Sufficient is Arm Alone." (A consideration of disarmament). Session I. "The Necessity of Disarmament." London Peace Fellowship.

Saturday, January 18
LONDON: 7.30 p.m.; Astley Bridge Methodist Church, Seymour Road. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.

Sunday, January 19
LONDON: 8.15 p.m.; Kings Hall. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." For.
LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m.; Westminster Friends' Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane. Conference for conscientious objectors. Speakers: Hugh (Sec., *Ilford Central Lab. Party*) and Bryan Reed. Tea provided. Women also welcome. For.

Monday, January 20
LONDON: 10.30 a.m.; Appellate Tribunal for COs. 100 Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd., Victoria. Morning. 10.30 a.m.; Afternoon, 2.15 p.m. Adm. free.

TUESDAY-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. House, 18 Dundonald Drive, Leigh. "Economic Applications of Disarmament." Speaker: Ken (Sec., *Ilford Central Lab. Party*). For.

Tuesday, January 21
LONDON, S.E.9: 8 p.m.; All Saints' Church Hall. Rev. Francis Noble and Dr. John Maynard. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima."

Thursday, January 23
LONDON: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., 100 Road. Speaker: Allan Sim. "Trumpet Play." E.10 and E.11 Group.

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SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS
LONDON: Week-end Workshops, cleaning and repairing the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS
WINCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Conscientious objectors and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS
LONDON: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush House, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. Martin, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Public showing "Children of Hiroshima." Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS
BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Stall.

SWIFT AGAINST WAR

Maurice Cranston reviews

The Pen and the Sword. By Michael Foot. London, MacGibbon & Kee, 30s.

JONATHAN SWIFT was not a pacifist in the narrow modern sense of the term, but he had a great hatred of war, and an even greater hatred of soldiers; and Mr. Michael Foot's new book gives an enthralling account of his activities as an anti-militarist pamphleteer during the War of the Spanish Succession.

At that time the Whigs were the war party; Marlborough was their hero, and his several spectacular victories against the French had imbued them with the will to fight on until they could wring from Louis a virtually unconditional surrender. The Tories, on the other hand, had had, by 1709 at any rate, enough of war; they wanted a negotiated peace; and Swift became their most formidable polemicist.

The enormous popularity which Marlborough's success in the field had earned him made his political opponents at home move cautiously against him; even those who detested him most bitterly made a point of praising his achievements; the early stages of the war were remembered with pride. The official Tory arguments varied; sometimes they said the war should have ended in 1706 after Ramillies; sometimes that the chance of ending it had been thrown away in 1709 and 1710. They did not deny that it had once been justified.

Swift in his most successful pamphlet—"The Conquest of the Allies," published in November, 1711—took an altogether different line. He declared that the war had from the very start been a gigantic error.

It had been entered into without due reflection and "hath cost us sixty millions, and after repeated, as well as unexpected success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves."

Thus, whereas others were content to say the time had come to negotiate, Swift said the war should never have been begun.

Swift did not, however, appeal to the highest principles in the development of his argument; he directed it towards the self-regarding instinct of his readers; he was often unfair to the Whigs; and he painted the Tory policy in colours flattering rather than true. Even so, what he wrote is a masterpiece of political pamphleteering. Swift was not the most scrupulous servant of peace—but he was certainly one of the most eloquent.

A persecuted Church

Father J. F. T. Prince reviews

The Red Book of the Persecuted Church, by Albert Galter. London, Gill, 30s.

THIS book, so it is advertised, aims "to give a summary but well documented account of the persecution of the Catholic Church by Communist Governments."

Only in so far as it achieves this object can it be saved from being the usual acidulous display of atrocity and injustice, for the author makes no claim to go into the deeper matter of persecution in se, its nature and necessity as prophesied by Jesus himself. Nor does he deal seriously with the problems of co-existence, or the position of the clergy and laity (many of them undeniably sincere, indeed holy, men and women), who whether misguided or not are attempting to "make do" with circumstances as they find them.

It is, indeed, easier for the armchair-observer in his security to weep for the martyrs rather than to sympathise with the predicament of those who survive. Yet, as the Curé d'Ars said: "It is far more difficult to live for one's faith than to die for it."

Unfortunately, if one is to judge the book by such matter as one may be able to check oneself, the author's picture is controvertible. An example is the state of affairs (as presented in the Red Book) in Czechoslovakia between the conclusion of the war and 1948.

Absolute factual accuracy is the one requirement in a book that is rarely, if ever, constructive; statistical and historical data are valuable only when their reliability is assured. Especially is this true of a calendar of persecution with the pattern of which we are all too familiar.

Arms race cancelled in 1960

Clarence D. Ash reviews

Take Me To Your President, by Leonard Wibberly. G. B. Putnam's Sons, USA, \$3.50.

NO one could have predicted that the career of an English agricultural labourer in the village of Mars in 1960 was to be suddenly interrupted by such a chain of events!

As an accidental and unwilling passenger in an intercontinental missile, he was flown through space to land safely in Lake Ruby, Nevada. He quickly became embroiled in a tug-of-war between five US Government departments, all of which attempted to take him into custody.

Wild publicity mushroomed concerning his identity—reported to be A-1, the Man From Mars—as the story of his arrival from outer space was rushed to Radio, Television and Press for release. His fame swept throughout the entire civilised world.

Later bulletins built up a legend that as a super intelligent being he had been sent from Mars to be a peace emissary to earth men, to act as chairman of a top level conference between the heads of State of the Big Three. The idea jells within a week, bringing the Prime Minister of England and the chief of the Russian Government to confer with the President of the United States. The President invited A-1 to act as chairman.

The explosive action taking place behind the scenes of the conference (of which the public was kept blissfully unaware) added richly to the humour of the situation. A-1 used a simple straightforward drive toward the heads of State resorted to tricky complications and shrewd bargaining as they worked themselves into a perfect stalemate.

When A-1 threatened to reveal his true identity, he succeeded in quelling all opposition. He then proposed a plan, which was grudgingly accepted by all as the only safe course out of the arms race into international peace.

"The whole world owes this great and humble visitor, whom we must regard as God-sent, a debt which may never be calculated in full," said the President in the closing Press conference.

Mission accomplished, A-1 was secretly returned to his village of Mars and none of his countrymen were the wiser concerning his adventure except Scotland Yard—that graveyard of all British secrets.

This is a novel for the gaily imaginative. It will be greeted as irreverence by men of melancholy outlook in this age of fearful thinking.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Heartening letters from S. Africa

I WISH I could share with you all the heartening letters Peace News has been receiving from readers in South Africa. Our postal subscribers there have been receiving white forms, headed "Objectionable literature," informing them that "Peace News has been prohibited from importation into the Union and all copies . . . therefore, seized . . ."

Writes one reader: "So, after subscribing to your fine little paper for many years, I shall be deprived of it until the time comes when it is no longer a crime to think for oneself in South Africa. I shall miss Peace News greatly. I do not always agree with it (how dull it would be to read only what one agreed with!) but I find its news and views deeply interesting and particularly admire its fight against the iniquitous H-bomb."

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning. Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETINGS

CONWAY DISCUSSIONS. South Place Ethical Soc., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Tuesday, January 14, 7.15 p.m. I. O. Evans, FRGS, "Science Fiction—New Art Form in Literature?" Adm. free.

NON-VIOLENCE is the theme and Wilfred Wellock and Frances Jude lead the 1958 Annual Conference of The Fellowship of Friends of Truth at Bewdley, Worcs, January 24 to 26. Apply Vivian Worthington, 52 Copers, Cope Rd., Beckenham, Kent.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sunday, January 12, 11 a.m. Dr. Maurice Burton, "The Rights of Animals and the Rights of Man." Adm. free.

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A CONFERENCE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

A conference for young men of 16 and over who are considering standing as COs will be held on Sunday, January 19, 1958, at Westminster Friends' Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2, from 2.30-5.30 p.m. Speakers: Hugh Brock (Editor, Peace News) and Bryan Reed (Secretary, Central Board for Conscientious Objectors). Discussion and questions. Tea will be provided. Young women also welcome.

Those readers who live close to the Basutoland border can cross over and read their Peace News there. If they bring a copy back on to South Africa soil they risk a £1,000 fine, as do other readers elsewhere in the Union who insist on defying the ban.

Rights still denied them

PRESS clippings from the United States have just reached me reporting the demonstration in Washington on the occasion of Prisoners-for-Peace Day. I was surprised to find that American conscientious objectors who were imprisoned during World War II are still deprived of their civil rights, and that many are thus unable to secure positions in their chosen fields of work.

The Prisoners-for-Peace Day demonstrators in Washington declared that an amnesty is long overdue.

ANTARCTICA

★ FROM
PAGE ONE

Britain there have been exciting discoveries of minerals. Coal, tin ore, lead ore, copper ore, iron sulphide, iron pyrites, and a little gold and silver are all known to exist.

Here alone is sufficient ground for friction between greedy nations. But the development of air transport gives added cause for concern.

Flying conditions are often better in polar areas than elsewhere and many of the best great circle routes lie across the poles. When these routes are developed, as they will surely be, then there will be a need for meteorological stations and emergency landing strips.

In addition there have already been suggestions that the open wastes of the continent might be the best place for nuclear bomb experiments or as a training ground for military techniques in polar warfare.

Aggravating all this is the fact that sovereign rights over Antarctica are piecemeal and not universally recognised.

The claims to territory are based on the "sector principle" put forward by Canada in 1925, when she claimed all land and sea running north from her territory in a sector converging on the North Pole.

H - BOMB CAMPAIGN

□ FROM PAGE ONE

including that of co-operation with like-minded organisations."

He said the Committee would give further consideration to the proposed march across England to North-East Scotland to protest against the rocket bases to be installed there.

Walter Wolfgang, Secretary of the Committee, told Peace News early in the week that a week-end school will be held on Saturday, March 1, to give Labour Party members background information on the case against the manufacture of the H-bomb so that they would be better able to carry on the campaign locally.

Konni Zilliacus, MP, is to speak on the foreign affairs aspects of the case, and Sydney Silverman, MP, is to discuss the economic and other aspects.

Mr. Wolfgang said that their aim was to activate people and that this week-end school will be "only part of a campaign" to be carried on during the coming year.

Constituency Labour Parties will be invited. Enquiries may be addressed to Mr. Wolfgang, 45, Richfield Court, Richmond, Surrey.

In Wales, Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, 8, Queen Street, Cardiff, is about to launch a nation-wide campaign against the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons.

This was decided at a meeting of the Party's Executive Committee last Saturday at Aberystwyth and a committee to organise the all-Wales campaign is meeting tomorrow.

In the Antarctic six sectors have been claimed: three British, one Norwegian, one French and one Chilean. The British sectors are the Falkland Islands Dependencies (claimed 1917), the Ross Dependency (1923, administered by New Zealand), and the Australian Antarctic Territory (1933). Adélie Land, which is an enclave in the Australian territory, is the French sector (1924); and Queen Maud Land, the Norwegian one (1939). The other sector is the so-called "Pacific Sector" to which Chile has laid claim.

Claims

The British claims in the Falkland Islands Dependencies and Ross are contested by Argentina and Chile. In 1943 Argentina, under Peron, claimed Grahamland and several islands. Tension has been a factor in the area ever since. In 1952 the Argentinians fired with machine-guns on a British party landing in Hope Bay. During 1953 the British authorities arrested two Argentine citizens at Deception Island.

In June, 1956, within the Falkland Islands Dependencies, the British had ten bases, Argentina had eight and Chile four. So far serious trouble has been mainly avoided by the annual signing of the Tripartite Antarctic Naval Declarations by the United Kingdom, Argentina and Chile, under which no warships are permitted south of Latitude 60 deg. S.

Neither the USA nor the USSR lay claim to any territory in Antarctica (though the Soviets have lately made a point of the fact that it was a Russian Admiral, Bellingshausen, who first discovered the Norwegian sector), but they do not recognise the claims of anyone. In addition they have made it abundantly clear that they claim a right to some say in what happens to the continent.

Solution

That Antarctica may become a source of international friction seems clear.

The disinterested sacrifices of men such as Scott, Shackleton and Fuchs deserve a better fruit than that. How can it be cultivated?

First and foremost, perhaps, we must be concerned to discourage the elements of national pride and prestige which seem, all too often, to enter into exploration. We must always remember that the real competition is between human beings and nature—not between national groups of explorers.

No team entering the Antarctic will be really national. It will be benefitting from the past experiences of other nations, for French, Russians, Americans, British, Norwegians, Australians, South Americans and many others have taken part in the opening-up of the continent.

Secondly, we must be continually concerned for the future of sovereignty in the Southern Continent.

Might not the best solution be the creation of a UN Specialised Agency which would own and administer Antarctica, ensuring that its exploitation is for the good of all men? There is still time for this to be done, and it is to be hoped that such a scheme will receive consideration.

The Montgomery Story

■ FROM PAGE ONE

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"The Fight for Human Rights"

ANTHONY WEDGWOOD BENN MP

writes about his new Human Rights Bill.

"The Third Force in World Affairs"

LESLIE HALE MP

continues his series of Peace News articles.

"The Montgomery Story"

AL CAPP

The first instalment of the cartoon account of the Montgomery, Alabama, Negro bus boycott, prepared for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Order copies now from your newsagent, or use coupon on page 6.

By Sybil Morrison

THE ONLY ANSWER

It is obvious to every thinking person that the only long-term solution is an international Government with a monopoly of the major weapons of war. But at the moment . . . something must be done and done quickly if the human race is to have any security of surviving during the next twenty years. . . . I think all friends of sanity were heartened by Mr. George Kennan expressing, as he did, not the views of theoretical pacifists, or of any kind of crank, but of a sensible man. . . .

—Bertrand Russell. The Observer, Jan. 5.

IN 1936 Bertrand Russell wrote a book called "Which Way to Peace". It was one of the most reasoned and irrefutable arguments against a war with Nazi Germany that has ever been published, and in the chapter entitled "Pacifism as a National Policy" the whole conception of disarmament by example was clearly set down, and brilliantly argued.

Yet the author, (though it is true he specifically stated that he could never be an absolute pacifist) did not, in the end, support his own argument, when 1939 heralded in the war with Hitler's Germany.

Now, he seems to imply that pacifism is only a theory, as different from a realistic policy, and even appears to acquiesce it with "any kind of a crank".

For the first time in the known history of mankind, war has become, not a method of settling disputes, or of acquiring territory and power, but of race suicide.

This is a totally different situation from the pre-1914 and pre-1939 years. Determined resistance to an aggressor, which was the war-cry of both these eras, has given way to something very like panic, except apparently among the statesmen, who seem to think that keeping the balance of military power is a sufficient reason for menacing the human race with total destruction.

The "thinking person" to whom Bertrand Russell refers, is the person who has given way to panic. These weapons of total devastation and mass destruction, it is argued, must be discarded; organisations must be formed, petitions must be launched, meetings must be held, demonstrations must take place, in order to persuade the Government to throw away what Mr. Macmillan, in his cliché-ridden, confused and contradictory speech last Saturday, described as "the best guarantee for peace".

It is surely not to be expected that a Government, while still relying upon the

Stuart Morris to speak

The General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union will be the Guest Speaker at a New Year Party to be held at 5.45 p.m. on Jan. 11 at Tinkers Dell, Crowhurst Lane, Battle (near Hastings), Sussex.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday January 12
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Two books which all readers of "Peace News" should read:
STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COMMITMENT
Edited by John Ferguson

The essays in this book show that Pacifism is inherent in the Christian Gospel. If this is true then the whole outlook of the Church is clarified. The Contributors are L. W. Grensted, John Ferguson, John H. Hick, Geoffrey F. Nuttall, E. L. Allen, Nels. Ferré, and H. D. Lewis. If you have not seen this important work then you most certainly should do so without further delay.

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CHRISTIAN PACIFISM AFTER TWO WORLD WARS
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